Pictorial Exegesis in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch

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The pictures in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch were probably read in a number of ways, on a number of levels, by audiences of a variety of backgrounds.[1] In the British Library's 1997 exhibit, "The Heirs of Rome," Michelle Brown and Leslie Webster note the various levels of interpretation narrative images can inspire, "from the deliberations and intellectual game-playing of their ecclesiastical authors, through their explanation to the devout, to straightforward veneration by the faithful." One way in which the Hexateuch pictures function is to provide exegetical clues and connections between the Old and New Testaments.

Danielou remarks that we should look for "types of the Sacraments" not only in exegesis, but also in pictorial iconography.[2] Weitzmann and Kessler demonstrate how pictorial exegesis works in the fifth or sixth-century Cotton Genesis, whose illustrators, "while affirming the Genesis story . . . also found hidden meanings in it. . . . By imposing Christian topoi on the story of Genesis, they controlled and gave meaning to the narrative."[3] More recently, Verkerk has shown that the miniatures in the late sixth-century Ashburnham Pentateuch "incorporate references to contemporary liturgical ceremonies" in order to convey "the typological meaning of Exodus for a Christian community."[4] The artists of the Hexateuch include similar anachronistic liturgical details, in addition to other visual connectors between the Old and New Testaments. They have, at times, included extra-textual commentaries, adding their own brand of pictorial exegesis to the illustrations of the first six books of the Old Testament.

Like the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch shows people wearing liturgical vestments and carrying censers in Genesis and Exodus, although, of course, these items are not introduced until Leviticus. The funerals of Jacob, Joseph, and Pharaoh give us an opportunity to witness these liturgical details—which would connect Old Testament scenes to the daily experiences of the Anglo-Saxon audience, since the same maniples and censers featured in the manuscript's illustrations were used in Anglo-Saxon churches.

For example, at the death of Jacob, Joseph and his brothers carry the body to Canaan for burial. In the picture (fol. 71r), they are preceded by a man carrying a bell in each hand.[5] At the actual burial, a priest carrying a maniple and wearing a clerical collar blesses the body (fol. 72r, top; figure 1). An almost identical picture illustrates the burial of Joseph (fol. 72v). Again, a priest blesses the body with his right hand and holds a maniple in his left hand. At the burial of Pharaoh on fol. 76v, a man censes the shrouded body. Never are these liturgical details mentioned in the text.

Liturgical vestments and implements are first introduced textually in Leviticus, at the vesting of Aaron and his sons (fol. 107v). Censers are first mentioned at Lev. 10.1, on the following folio (108v). In these instances, text and illustrations coincide; liturgical vestments and implements are illustrated—as they should not have been in Genesis. The inclusion of these pictorial details in Genesis, before their textual introduction, may have helped some members of the audience to add their knowledge of the material practices of church-going to their understanding of the Old Testament, thus helping them to achieve a layered, more complex interpretation of the text. They would be better able to apply events in the lives of the patriarchs to their own lives, seeing the Old Testament figures as part of a Christian community. Instead of reading only for story, the audience, with the help of the pictures, would also read for the spiritual significance. Other, more sophisticated members of the audience, might take pleasure in seeing and interpreting these anachronistic details, much as a modern reader enjoys solving a mystery by fitting all the pieces together. Verkerk suggests that in the case of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the illustrations express "essential Christian teachings that enhance and enrich the audience's understanding of the text," allowing Jewish history to speak to a "contemporary Christian audience."[6] The illustrations in the Old English Hexateuch work in a similar way.

Elsewhere in the manuscript an astute audience can also see more than the narrative. Benjamin Withers has discussed an example of New Testament iconography that appears before the beginning of Genesis: the image of the Creator on fol. 2r of Claudius B. iv "parallels but does not exactly duplicate contemporary images of Christ in Majesty."[7] For Withers, this "modified image of the Last Judgment,"[8] which is used in the scene of the fall of the rebel angels, connects the beginning with the end and offers readers a choice between salvation and damnation. This image is complex; like the text, it would have been seen differently by readers of different levels of sophistication. Some readers might

even have needed these explicatory images further explained before they would have understood the connections between the Old and New Testaments the artist was trying to convey.

But other images are much simpler and seem to be designed to aid even an unsophisticated reader's comprehension of events in the biblical narrative. In an example of visual commentary in Genesis, the artist helps his audience to interpret a textual passage by including a detail that may be unique to this manuscript. A devil carrying a scroll appears above the people of Sodom in the lower register of fol. 23v (see figure 2). An inscription, "diabolus," was added by a later medieval hand. Although he is not mentioned in the biblical text, this flying devil seems to have been placed in the picture to help the audience visually identify the men from Sodom, who "were most wicked and very sinful before God" (Gen. 13.13). Appearing half-length from the top right-hand corner of the frame, the devil surrounds a group of six men with his scroll; they are, of course, inhabitants of the city of Sodom. In the left-hand side of the picture, Lot sits within his house. The hand of God appears over his head, paralleling the winged devil over the men from Sodom, and indicating that while they are wicked, Lot, who inhabits the same city, is a good man.[9] The devil is portrayed as a creature with a snout, in the same way that the fallen angels are represented on fol. 2r in Claudius B. iv.

A picture in the eleventh-century Harley Psalter functions similarly.[10] The illustration to Psalm 1 in Harley 603 depicts both the blessed and the wicked man (fol. 1v). On the left top of the picture, within an architectural structure, the blessed man sits reading, an angel beside him, while a devil shadows the wicked man, who sits on the right, surrounded by armed men. The text of the psalm mentions neither the angel nor the devil; the artist includes them to help the reader identify the figures in the miniature. Likewise, the Hexateuch artist may have included the devil in his depiction of Lot and the men of Sodom in order to help his audience understand the wickedness of these people.

The iconography itself may have been influenced by an idea found in Ælfric's writings, an idea M.A.L. Locherbie-Cameron has explored: in *Catholic Homilies* (II), VI, and XX and in *Concerning Auguries*, Ælfric employs the "concept of wicked flying spirits."[11] Although the *gastas* or *deoflu* in these examples are said to be invisible, they, like the devil on fol. 23v of the Hexateuch, have the ability to fly like birds. Ælfric may have relied on works by Bede and Gregory the Great in the formulation of his idea of flying devils, but neither Ælfric, Bede, nor Gregory apply the concept of flying devils to the people of Sodom.[12]

It falls to the Hexateuch artist to make this connection, and to represent visually that which Ælfric discussed in writing. By his careful use of visual pointers, the artist helps the audience to distinguish Lot from the other people dwelling in Sodom.

The artist employs a similar strategy when he helps readers to make typological connections. Bede tells us that the purpose of some of the paintings brought by Benedict Biscop to the church at Wearmouth-Jarrow was to show "the agreement of the Old and New Testaments." For example, he says, "a picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be slain, was joined (in the next space answerable above) to one of the Lord carrying the cross on which He likewise was to suffer."[13] Likewise, in his *Catholic Homilies*, Ælfric cautions his readers to read the Old Testament for what it signifies spiritually, and he shows them how to read about the paschal lamb of Exodus 12 in light of Gospel accounts of the Last Supper.[14] Several illustrations in the Hexateuch seem to serve this function: at the same time that they illustrate the text literally, they also remind their audience that the people and events in the Old Testament prefigure those in the New Testament.

The author-portrait, an artistic commonplace that may be used to link the two Testaments, appears four times in illustrations of Moses, twice in Exodus (ff. 95v and 100r; figures 3 and 4) and twice in Deuteronomy (ff. 136v and 138v; figures 5 and 6). Although the portrait design itself is formulaic when applied to the evangelists and would have easily been recognized by an Anglo-Saxon audience, in the Hexateuch, it is used for Moses instead.[15] More standard Moses iconography shows him receiving the tablets of law from the hands of God. We see this common iconography, for example, in the Exodus frontispiece of a ninth-century Touronian manuscript, the Moutier-Grandval Bible.[16] Other Anglo-Saxon representations of Moses, such as those in the Bury Psalter[17] and in Harley 603, use iconography unrelated to either the Hexateuch or the Tours Bible tradition.

The Hexateuch artist may have been drawing a connection between Moses and the Evangelists, and thus, between the Old and New Laws, with this design. It seems fitting that the one who wrote the laws should be dignified by a design that echoes representations of the evangelists writing at their lecterns. In addition, this design draws attention to and privileges writing—both the act of writing and the text produced by that act—as well as the importance of interpretation. Seth Lerer, using the story of King Alfred learning poems in order to earn a book from his mother, shows how Asser chronicles Alfred's growth as one who is able first to see the beautiful letters, then to recite the verses, and fi-

nally, to interpret those verses according to a spiritual sense.[18] In a similar way, the pictures in the Hexateuch may lead the audience first to an interest in the book itself, then into reading the words, or hearing them read, and finally into interpreting the text. The visual signals show this audience, whether or not they could read, which direction to take in their interpretation. As Bede says in *Historia abbatum*, paintings adorned church walls and ceilings "in order that all men which entered the church, even if they might not read, should either look (whatsoever way they turned) upon the gracious countenance of Christ and His saints, though it were but in a picture; or might call to mind a more lively sense of the blessing of the Lord's incarnation, or having, as it were before their eyes, the peril of the last judgment might remember more closely to examine themselves."[19]

The Hexateuch's audience would be able to use the pictures to understand allegorically, to make connections between this text and the Gospels. By their insistence on the importance of writing and books, the pictures would also serve to teach the audience the importance of the text and of reading. And finally, the pictures connect Moses not only with the evangelists, but also with the roles both Moses and the evangelists play: those of author and teacher.

In the bottom right-hand picture on fol. 95v (figure 3), Moses sits at a desk holding a pen in one hand and a penknife in the other. He looks over his shoulder at the Hand of God, which extends from the top frame to inspire him. The picture corresponds to Ex. 17.14: "Then the Lord said to Moses: Write this in a book as a reminder and give it to Joshua. Certainly I will destroy the memory of Amalech from under heaven." The illustration is remarkable because the author-portrait is such a common element in the artistic vocabulary of Christian manuscript illumination—but not for illustrations of Moses. The audience would have easily recognized the design here and in the other instances in which it is found in the Hexateuch. The design may have worked as a "memorial cue," in the words of Mary Carruthers, helping the audience to recall New Testament images they had stored in their memories, and to apply them to the Old Testament text.[20]

The implication of the textual passage is highlighted by the illustration: not through memory but through writing shall the story of Amalech be preserved. Significantly, the Old English translation shifts the emphasis of the biblical passage from hearing to writing as a way of remembering: the Vulgate text reads: "deliver it to the ears of Josue," but the Old English translation keeps the focus on the book and its transmission: "write this in a book as a reminder and give it to Josue."

Thus, the illustration and the text emphasize the act of writing as a way of preserving stories.

The act of writing is emphasized a second time in the top right picture on fol. 100r of the Hexateuch (figure 4), in which Moses "wrote all of the Lord's words" (Ex. 24.4). Again, the words conveyed by the Lord through speech are transmitted into writing by Moses, and again, the picture shows Moses sitting at a desk writing in the manner of an evangelist portrait. This picture highlights Moses in a striking and unusual way: an interior frame appears around Moses inside the larger picture frame. The other frames in this section of the manuscript are narrow and plain; in contrast, the frame within the frame is wide and filled with an acanthus-leaf pattern in red pigment. It seems to be part of the original artist's work; the same red pigment is used in the rest of the picture, and Moses' position within the picture is determined by the wide frame below him on which his feet rest. He sits on a chair in a three-quarter position in front of a blue-draped lectern. On top of the lectern is a yellow writing stand. Like in the picture on fol. 95v—and like evangelist portraits too numerous to name—Moses holds both pen and penknife as he writes.

Interior frames such as the one surrounding Moses are not found elsewhere in this manuscript. Nor is the acanthus-leaf pattern, which is common in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and often associated with New Testament and evangelist imagery (for example in two eleventh-century gospel manuscripts at Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 301 and Trinity College MS B.10.4, and in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold). The Hexateuch artist's addition of this extra frame around Moses emphasizes an artistic convention frequently associated with the New Testament, but within the book of Exodus. Thus the picture strongly connects an Old Testament figure, Moses, with the Evangelists of the New Testament.

A third portrait, on fol. 136v (figure 5), shows Moses writing the laws in an open book which rests in his lap—as does the book in the Lindisfarne Gospels portrait of St. Matthew. The text, Deut. 31.9, reads: "Truly Moses wrote the laws and gave them to the priests, the children of Levi, and to all the elders of Israel." Moses looks up at the hand of God, which appears from a cloud inside the picture's frame. To his right a line of Israelites stretches across the picture space. Their eyes focus on Moses and the large book in which he writes, which in turn makes the audience focus on Moses and his book, emphasizing writing as the proper way to record the law. The position of the book in the

space between Moses and the Israelites further highlights the importance of the book, a point the bookmakers seemed to emphasize.

In the top picture on the same page, where Moses speaks to the Israelites beside the Red Sea, the figure of Moses as teacher is emphasized, once again connecting his roles—as teacher and as writer—with those of the evangelists. A similar representation of Moses as teacher and writer can be found in the picture on fol. 138v (figure 6). Here, Moses writes in his book and speaks to the sons of Levi, who carry the ark. This illustration stands out in many ways from others in the manuscript, most noticeably because Moses is so much larger than the sons of Levi. Standing, he would be twice the height of the tallest Levite. He sits on an elaborate throne, writing in an open book. An intricately carved lectern stands in front of him, its top draped in blue cloth, which, like Moses' voluminous classical draperies, ripples with folds and cascades downward.[21] In the same way that the previous picture emphasizes writing and books, this illustration also positions the large book between Moses and the Levites. Likewise, the eyes of all but one of the Levites draw our eyes to the left side of the picture where Moses' hand writes in the book.[22]

The text the picture illustrates, Deut. 31.22-26, reads: "Moses wrote the canticle and taught the people of Israel," again showing the importance of Moses as a teacher. The text continues with Moses saying: "Take this book and lay it by the side of that ark; the agreement with the Lord is in it, that it might be there as a witness against you." (For, as he goes on to say, he knows the Levite's strife with God and their hardheartedness that has lasted all during his life.) Here the text and picture show the importance of books as appropriate vehicles in which to record laws.

In both Deuteronomy scenes, Moses writes God's words for the Israelites, and in both, he is represented in the dignified pose associated with evangelists that would help the audience to see the link between the Old and New Testaments, between Moses and the evangelists. In both scenes, writing and books are given priority as a means by which history may be remembered and laws may be recorded.

Other links between the Old and New Testaments in this manuscript include New Testament iconography in Genesis. Several of the manuscript's pictures indicate a familiarity on the artist's part with standard New Testament iconography. In some cases, the artist may simply have been borrowing a familiar New Testament picture design that lent itself to a similar scene in the Hexateuch. For example, a Last Supper finds its way into the illustration of Exodus 32.6, in which the Israel-

ites feast after offering sacrifices to the golden calf (fol. 102r), and on fol. 63r, the reeve washes the feet of Joseph's brothers in a picture strongly reminiscent of the standard iconography found in the Footwashing of St. Peter. The brother whose feet are being washed raises one hand; traditionally, St. Peter raises one or both hands in protest.[23] In these cases, I do not believe the artist is making typological connections; rather, he is using pictorial commonplaces instead of designing new pictures.

However, in other cases, the artist may have been providing visual commentary connecting the Old and New Testaments. For example, Joseph's reeve is portrayed in pictorial vocabulary usually associated with St. Peter, thus helping the audience see that if the reeve is a type of Peter, Joseph is a type of Christ. On fol. 64r, on the left-hand side of the picture, Joseph commands his reeve (*gerefan*; Vulgate *dispensator*) to place a cup in Benjamin's sack (Gen. 44.1-2; see figure 7). The reeve, a short man with a beard, holds a large key in his left hand as a tall, beardless Joseph gives the order. The key may identify Joseph's servant as a reeve for the Anglo-Saxon audience. But Joseph himself is also a reeve, the reeve of Pharoah, and he carries no key or other symbol of his office. In fact, although the word *gerefa* is used many times in the Hexateuch, only in the instance of Joseph's reeve is a key included in the illustration. Because the key is so prominent in the picture, however, it seems certain that the artist had a particular reason for including it. Nothing in the accompanying text—nor in any biblical commentaries I have found—makes this connection, so the artist may be adding his own pictorial commentary to facilitate the reader's understanding of Joseph.

The artist and his audience would have been familiar with pictures of Peter holding the key: see, for example the Tenth Century New Minster Charter in which Peter stands in the same three-quarter position in which Joseph's reeve stands, holding a very similar key.[24] Many eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, such as the Trinity Gospels, portray Peter similarly.[25] A picture in the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter of Christ Giving the Keys to Peter closely resembles the design of the Hexateuch's picture and accords with standard iconography: Christ stands on the left and hands the keys to Peter; both figures are shown in three-quarter view. According to Haney, this iconography is seen in Reichenau and Echternach manuscripts as well.[26] This use of New Testament iconography within an Old Testament manuscript may not only show the didactic purpose of the pictures, it might also indicate a sense of fun, of "intellectual game-playing,"[27] on the

part of the artists, who saw complexity and connections within Genesis, even as they tried to simplify it for one of their multiple audiences. The artists may have included New Testament iconography in their rendering of Joseph and his reeve as a visual hint that would deepen the audience's understanding of the spiritual significance of the text.

In his translation of the *Pastoral Care*, King Alfred expands on Gregory the Great's idea of *gradatio* as another means of understanding. For Gregory, the message goes into the mind of the reader in an orderly fashion, step by step—but Alfred turns those steps into rungs of a ladder: "Now I wish this discourse to rise in the mind of the learner as on a ladder, step-by-step, nearer and nearer, until it firmly stands on the floor of the mind which learns it."[28] And like Alfred's step-by-step passage from seeing the picture to reading the words to understanding the spiritual significance of those words, the audience of the Hexateuch might also have been led by a series of gradations to a more layered understanding of the text—through the steps of a ladder. Metaphorically, a ladder represents Christ, according to Isidore of Seville.[29] Iconographically, ladders, which are equated with the cross, may help readers see the spiritual connection between heaven and earth—and thus to invest the words of the text with a deeper spiritual understanding.

The Hexateuch artist's standard handling of commerce between heaven and earth involves a ladder which physically links the two spaces within a miniature. For example, Enoch, who is said to walk with God (Gen. 5.24), climbs a ladder in order to reach heaven on fol. 11v. God reaches out from the clouds to grasp Enoch by the arm. Later in the manuscript, both ladder and angels are specified in the text of Jacob's Dream (Gen. 28.12-13). In the Jacob picture, God and two angels appear, God standing on the top of the ladder, the two angels standing below him, their feet placed on ladder rungs and their bodies in line with the ladder (fol. 43v; figure 8). Here, a curious representation of the lower angel may be intended to signify the creature's special nature: it stands both in front of and behind the ladder at the same time. This representation of God and the angels on the ladder, which may well have been derived from a pictorial source since the subject was very common and was sure to have been seen in some form by the Hexateuch artist, may have influenced the other representations of God appearing before men.[30] The ladder and the angels appear in the Hexateuch's depictions of the Building of the Tower of Babel and the Covenant of Circumcision, perhaps because of the artist's familiarity with representations of Jacob's Dream.

The ladder may also have had other connections for readers of the Hexateuch. Rachel Crabtree argues that "[d]istance in spatial terms is an indication of distance in spiritual terms."[31] She examines the spatial relationships between heaven, earth, and hell as they are related verbally in *Genesis B*: the alliterating words often emphasize the physical distances among the three places and provide connections among them. Similarly the ladders that link earth and heaven in the Hexateuch connect the two places visually. In the picture of the building of the tower of Babel, Crabtree notes that the ladder on the right, which parallels the heavenly ladder on the left, significantly goes up only halfway and "may perhaps be representative of man's attempt to raise himself up . . . and reach Heaven by human exertion and force."[32] So the ladders in the Hexateuch's miniatures may help the audience to interpret the text and pictures spiritually. Indeed, Walter Cahn reminds us of the exegetical commonplace equating the cross—or Christ himself—with a ladder "bridging the distance between heaven and earth and [becoming] the conduit for the faithful's ascent to heaven," quoting Isidore of Seville's "Porro scala Christus est, qui dicit: Ego sum via."[33] In this way, the ladder again helps the audience to connect Old and New Testaments; God is made known to man through Christ, who is represented as a ladder.

The pictures in the Hexateuch may have been understood on different levels by different readers with varying levels of sophistication. Some readers may have immediately seized upon the exegetical clues, piecing them together like a puzzle, partaking in intellectual gameplaying, whereas others may have focused on the narrative alone, ignorant of the layers of meaning. For both audiences, the pictures sometimes function as keys to unlocking the secrets hidden within the text. Readers would have been able to use these illustrations to help them interpret that text. The level of interpretation, however, would have depended on the sophistication of the reader: the more sophisticated the reader, the more doors the key would unlock. Some members of the audience may never have proceeded further than the bare narrative, even with the help of the illustrations; others would have laid bare all the layers of interpretation the combination of text and image had to offer.[34]

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Notes

[1] London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius B. iv. The eleventh-century manuscript may have been made at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. It contains the Old English version of Genesis-Joshua by Ælfric and several anonymous translators. See C. R. Dodwell and P. A. M. Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974); Benjamin Withers, "Present Patterns, Past Tense: Structuring History, Law and Society in London, British Library Cotton Claudius B. IV," diss., U of Chicago, 1994; Rebecca Barnhouse, "Text and Image in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch" diss. U of North Carolina, 1994. The text is edited by S. J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, EETS o.s. 160 (London: Oxford UP, 1922. Rpt. with appendix by N. R. Ker, 1969). See also the essays in *The Old English Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000). For multiple audiences, see especially David Johnson's article, "A Program of Illumination in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: 'Visual Typology'?" in which he suggests that the manuscript may have been used by laymen visiting the monastery, as well as illiterate or monolingual monks.

[2] Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. Dom Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns and Oates, 1960).

[3] Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archeology, 1986) 41.

[4] Dorothy Verkerk, "Exodus and Easter Vigil in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 94-105, 94.

[5] Compare the two bell-ringers accompanying the body of King Edward in the Bayeux Tapestry. Like the body of Jacob, Edward is also carried on a bier supported by poles which men carry over their shoulders. See David Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Knopf, 1985) plate 29.

[6] Verkerk 94.

[7] Withers, "Present Patterns, Past Tense" 55. See also his "A 'Secret and Feverish Genesis':The Prefaces of the Old English Hexateuch," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 53-71.

[8] Withers, "Present Patterns, Past Tense" 59.

[9] Malcolm Godden discusses this picture and Ælfric's changes to the Biblical text in "The Trouble with Sodom: Literary Responses to Biblical Sexuality," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77 (1995): 97-119. See especially pages 102-04.

[10] London, British Library MS Harley 603. For a study of the manuscript, see William Noel's *The Harley Psalter*, Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology 4, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995). The pictures are reproduced in Thomas Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1992).

[11] M. A. L. Locherbie-Cameron, "Ælfric's Devils," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 40 (1993): 286-87.

[12] Locherbie-Cameron 287.

[13] Bede, *Historia Abbatum* 9, *Opera Historica*, trans. J. E. King. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam's, 1930) 415. See also C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* I (Oxford, 1896) 373, and Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and the church paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow," *ASE* 8 (1979): 63-77.

[14] Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, EETS, o.s. 5 (London: Oxford UP, 1979) 150. Paul Szarmach discusses this passage in "Ælfric as Exegete: Approaches and Examples in the Study of the *Sermones Catholici*," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico, (Albany: State U of New York P, 1989) 237-47. See especially page 243.

[15] Withers has also commented on this iconography, noting that whereas "Moses is represented in the guise of an evangelist, the depictions of Evangelists derive in turn from the practices of medieval writing." "Present Patterns, Past Tense" 68.

[16] London, British Library Add. MS. 10546, fol. 25v. Herbert Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977) fig. 87.

[17] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vaticana MS Reg. lat. 12, fol. 83v, 103r.

[18] Seth Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1991).

[19] *Hist. Abbat.* 6, 405-07.

[20] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

[21] For more on the draped lectern, see Carl Nordenfalk, "The Draped Lectern: A Motif in Anglo-Saxon Evangelist Portraits," *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski zum 70*, ed. Peter Bloch, et al. (Berlin: Mann, 1973) 81-100.

[22] Withers explores ways in which the manuscript images are self-referential in "Present Patterns, Past Tense." See, for example, his discussion of figures pointing up in one picture, "leading our eye across the gutter of the opening" to the following picture (179). He further explores this idea in "Interaction of Word and Image in Anglo-Saxon Art I: Pointing the Story in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch," *OEN* 30.1 (1996): 20-23.

[23] This feature can be seen as early as the fourth century (Kristine Edmondson Haney, *The Winchester Psalter: An Iconographic Study* [Leicester: Leicester UP, 1986] 112) and is found frequently in eleventh-century New Testament iconography.

[24] London, B.L. Cotton Vespasian A. VIII. fol. 2v. Reproduced in Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 2, ed. J. J. G. Alexander (London: Harvey Miller, 1976) no. 16, fig. 84.

[25] Cambridge, Trinity College B. 10. 4, fol. 17v (Temple no. 65, fig. 214). Others include a prayer book, London, B.L. Cotton Titus D. XXVI, fol. 19v (Temple no. 77, fig. 243); the New Minster Register, London, B.L. Stowe 944, fols. 6r and 7r (Temple 78, figs. 244 and 248); and a Gospel Lectionary, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Plut. XVII.20, fol. 1r (Temple no. 69, fig. 232).

[26] Winchester Psalter 120, fig. 2.

[27] Michelle Brown and Leslie Webster, *The Heirs of Rome*. British Library Exhibition, 1997.

[28] Gregory, *Cura Pastoralis* Part II., Chap. 5. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 71. Alfred, *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Henry Sweet, EETS o.s. 45, 50. 1871-72. (London: Oxford UP, 1958) 23. I owe this information to Ray Moye.

[29] *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum.* Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 83, 258-59.

[30] Although the scene of Jacob's Dream is missing from the Cotton Genesis, it appears in the Vienna Catena manuscript (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. theol. gr. 7; fol. 81v), the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv cod. 6/19; fol. 37v), the Salerno Antependium (an eleventh-century ivory carving; see Robert Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1980]) and the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville; fol. 36v). The scene may also be seen in the Winchester Psalter (Haney) and the Byzantine Octateuchs (for which see John Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study of Illustrated Byzantine Manuscripts* [Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State P, 1992] 95).

[31] Rachel Crabtree,"Ladders and Lines of Connection in Anglo-Saxon Religious Art and Literature," *Medieval Literature and Antiquities: Studies in Honour of Basil Cottle*, ed. Myra Stokes and T. L. Burton (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987) 47.

[32] Crabtree 49.

[33] Cahn, Walter, "Ascending to and Descending from Heaven: Ladder Themes in Early Medieval Art," *Settimane Di Studio Del Centro Italiano Di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto) 36 (1989): 697-724, page 721. For Isidore, see *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 83, 258-59.

[34] A version of this paper was presented at the Seventh Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists (Stanford University,

August 1995). Thanks to the members of the 1995 NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers, "Old and New Approaches to Beowulf and Old English Literature," led by Paul Szarmach, for their suggestions; and particular thanks to Shari Horner.

Figures

FIGURE 1: fol. 72r. The Burial of Jacob. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 2: Fol. 23v. The Devil at Sodom. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 3: Fol. 95v. Moses. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

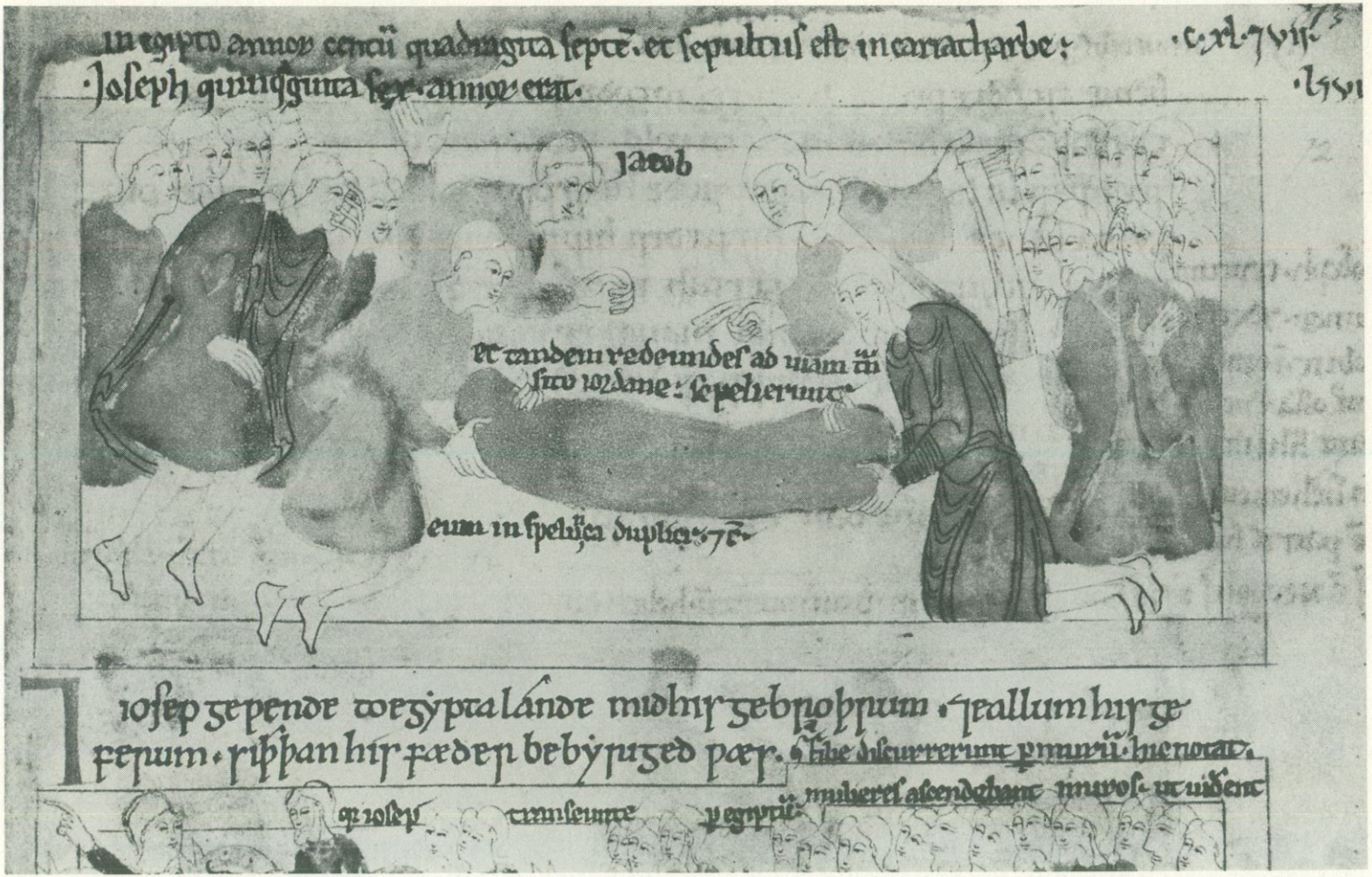
FIGURE 4: Fol. 100r. Moses. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 5: Fol. 136v. Moses. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 6: Fol. 138v. Moses. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 7: Fol. 64r. Joseph's reeve. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)

FIGURE 8: Fol. 43v. Jacob's dream. (*Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, BL Cotton Claudius B. IV.)



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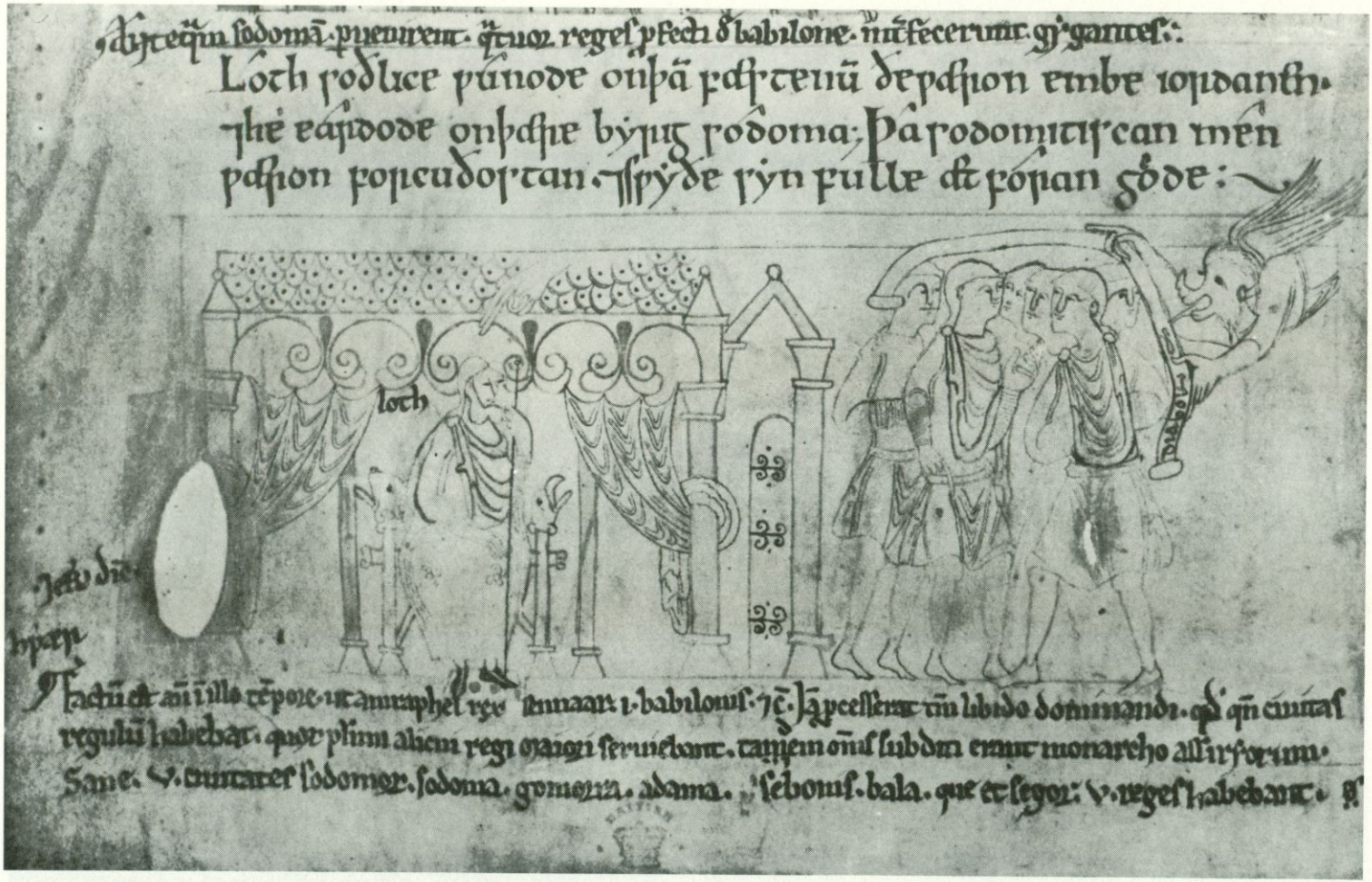

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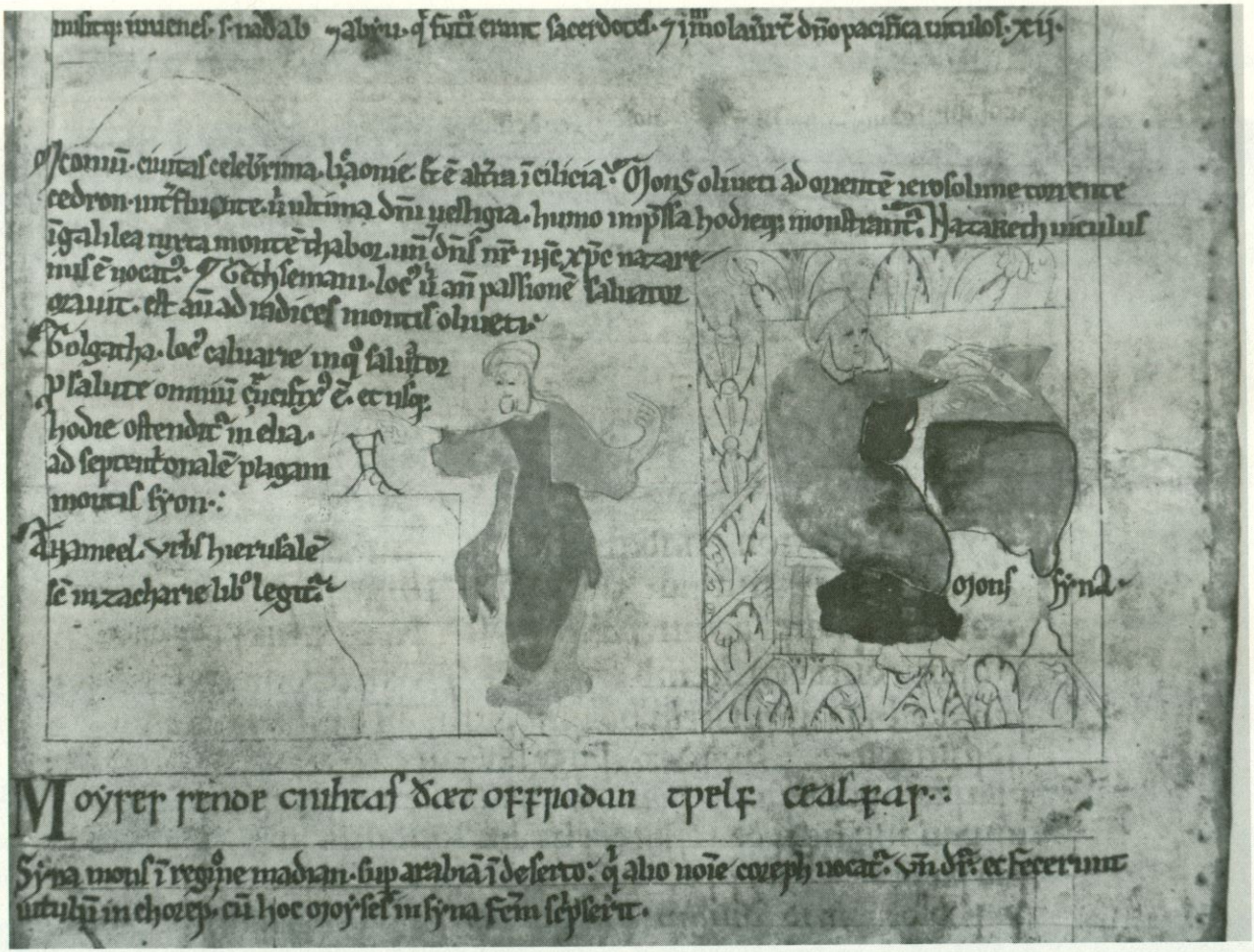

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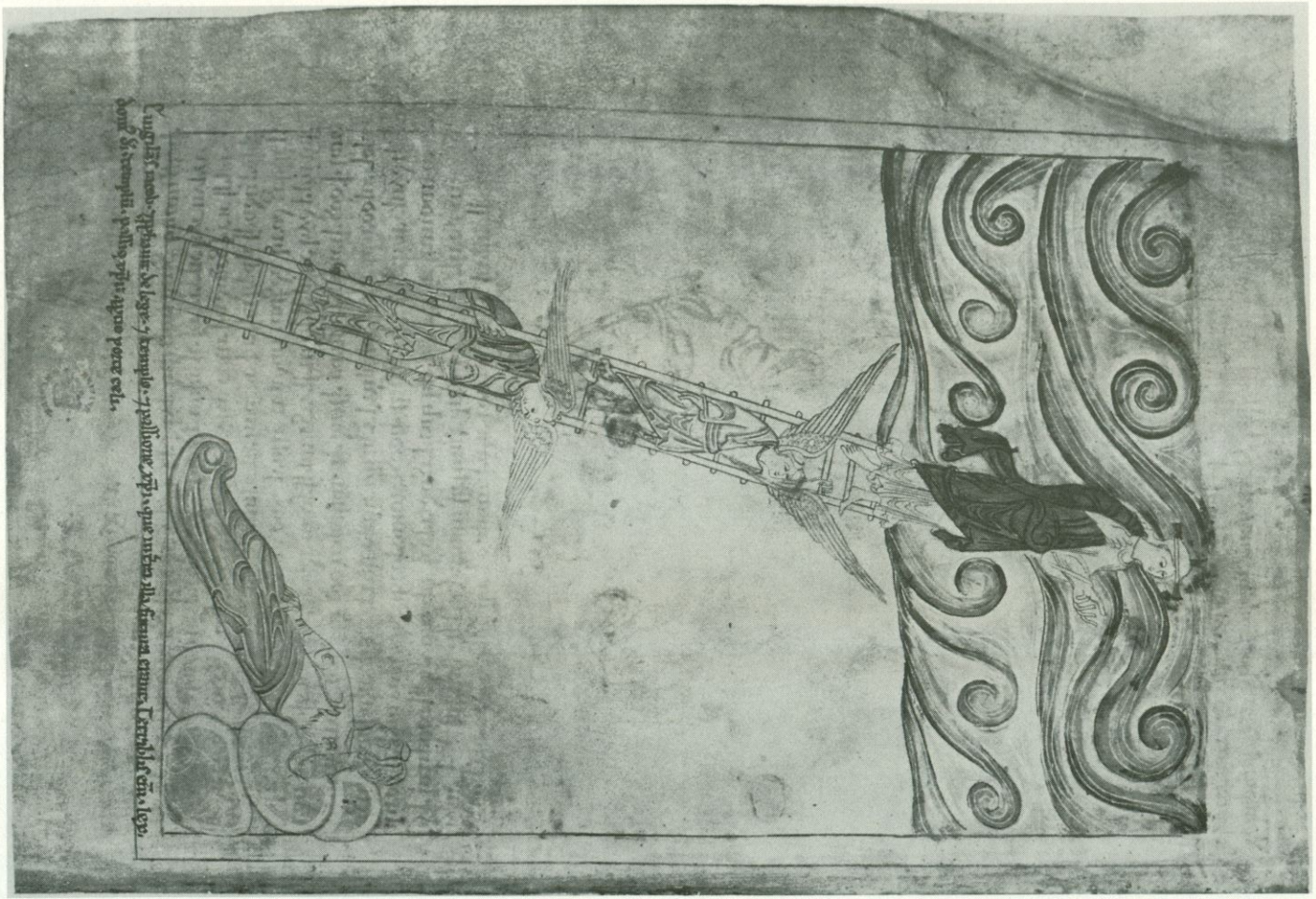

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